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A CALL TO WORKMEN

To Take Part in the St. Louis Municipal Campaign—The Issues Defined.

To the readers of The People and Workmen of St. Louis in general: At the next city election to be held in St. Louis on Tuesday, April 6, 1903, you will again be called upon to exercise your right of franchise. A variety of political parties will ask you to vote for them. Among them is the Socialist Labor Party, which again calls your attention to the fact that in society as it exists to-day, there is a big capitalist class that robs you, there is a little capitalist class that robs you, and that you are being robbed by these two sets of robbers whether under Republican, Democratic, or so-called Reform parties rule.

The big capitalist class is composed of those who own the most important means of production and distribution, i. e., mines, mills, factories, elevators, granaries, ships, railroads, etc. They take no part in production, but appropriate to themselves the largest share of what the working class produces. The members of this class are the principal promoters of a money-making scheme that is being launched here, which is known as the World's Fair. In this city their interest is being looked after by the Republican and Democratic parties, whose object it is to again get control of the city government and use that government to advance and protect the interest of the capitalist class against the interest of the working class.

You may cry for proof. Does not the proof of the pudding lie in the eating of it? During the late street car-men's strike, were you not forced to eat a lead pudding shot from the rifles of the deputy sheriffs by orders of a Democratic police force and a Republican mayor?

Right here it may not be amiss to draw your attention to the fact that amongst these deputy sheriffs there was one by the name of G. A. Hoch, a member of the Socialist Democratic, alias Socialist party, a party that in the State of California fused with a fakir-led "Union Labor" party which, in turn, fused with the Democratic party. Turn down this set of robbers by voting the ticket of the Socialist Labor Party.

The next set of robbers that we have to deal with is the middle class, the small skinners, the very small manufacturers, the man with the one horse shoe repair shop, the two by four store keepers, all of those who have a peck of potatoes, a pint of molasses, a bag of flour, or a ten cent broom to sell, all the small skinners of the working class. This middle class is in a peculiar position. It is robbed by the big capitalist class, but at the same time it robs all of those who are beneath it in the economic scale, namely, the working class.

It is because its steedings must be divided with the big capitalist class that it is so much the more merciless in its treatment of the working class. While it upholds capitalism and wage-slavery, it is at war with the highest development of capitalism, the various industrial combinations known as the trust.

The middle class is blind to the conditions that created the department store, and other commercial and industrial concentrations, and seeks to further its interest by anti-department store and anti-trust legislation. The members of the middle class feel themselves crushed to death by the burden of taxation that the large capitalist class succeeds in avoiding. They groan beneath the exactions of the great railroads, telegraphs, telephones, street car, gas and electric light companies, and imagine that if only these industries could be made to bear a portion of the burden of taxation, while the rest of service would be reduced to them, this little property might remain to them a few years longer. So they cry out for "municipal ownership" of what they please to term "public utility."

In this city they are rallying around what is known as "The public Ownership" and the bogus "Socialist" parties, with a view of capturing the machinery of the city government and use it to enact laws that will advance and protect their class interest. The laws that they propose to enact are known as "reforms."

These proposed reforms would be of little interest to the Socialist Labor Party, were it not for the fact that they are invariably set forth as being in the interest of the working class. These middle class skinners see that the ownership of street cars, gas works, etc., are a good thing for the few men who own them. As a result they reason thus: "Now, if the city owned these public utilities, the profits, instead of going into the pockets of a few big capitalists would go into the city treasury and we the middle class would not have to pay any taxes. We would reap the benefits of the profits instead of their flowing into the pockets of the big capitalist class." Do you see the point, fellow workmen? They want to reap the benefits of the profits. If profits are to be made that means that the working class must continue to be forced out of a great part of the wealth

that they produce. As a result you will be no better off than you were before.

Another claim that these middle class skinners put forth is that they want to bring about reform a step at a time. What they really mean is that they want to advance the interest of their class a step at the time, and if possible overthrow the big capitalist class, so that they, the middle class, maybe come the only and dominant class to rob you.

There is no set of skinners like the middle class skinners. If there is one class that hates and despises the working class, it is these middle class vultures. All through the history of the past these middle class skinners have used the working class as a stepping stone to advance their interest. During the period of the eighteenth century we find the middle class laughing at the working class for trying to smash the machines. To-day we see that some middle class trying to smash those more improved tools of production known as combinations and trusts, and failing in that, they want to make them public property, and use them to rob the working class through the capitalist government. What difference does it make to you fellow workmen whether you are robbed by a private capitalist as through the capitalist government? Turn down these middle class skinners by casting your vote for the Socialist Labor Party, whose motto is, "Down with the big robber class. Down with the little robber class. Up with the working class."

The Socialist Labor Party wants the working class to own and control the government, that government in turn to own and control all "public utilities," and use them not to reduce taxes, but to reduce the hours of labor in accordance with the progress of production, and emancipate the working class from wage slavery by giving them the full products of their toil, a system under which everybody will have to work or starve. This means a revolution.

At the close of the eighteenth century, and the first part of the nineteenth century, the capitalist class was in most countries under the rule of the landed interests. The old landlords, known as the feudal barons, held the reins of power. The rising capitalist class was trying to obtain that power for their own use. The working class had just been shut off from the land by changes in the methods of cultivation and were becoming attached to the capitalist class as wage workers. The capitalists saw in these wage workers a convenient weapon with which to accomplish their purpose of overthrowing the landlords.

The capitalist class succeeded in getting the franchise for their wage slaves, who in turn used it to overthrow the landlords by voting for their capitalist master. This was the beginning of the capitalist system. The overthrow of the feudal system and the enthronement of capitalism was a revolution. Under feudalism the working class were the slaves of the feudal lords. To-day they are slaves of the capitalist class.

Now, the Socialist Labor Party is organizing the working class for a revolution. It wants the working class to get possession of the law making powers and then wield that power in the interest of their class against the interest of every other class. It wants to establish socialism in lieu of capitalism. It wants to abolish slavery in all its forms and establish a republic of free men, free because they will collectively own the things necessary to make a living with. This is the socialist revolution.

We have now made it plain to you what socialism is and what the Socialist Labor Party is after. It is up to you to help us. Are you doing it? The revolution will not be brought about by merely voting the Social Labor Party ticket, or reading the People and throwing it aside with the remark that "Smith made a good speech." It will not be brought about by staying at home with your wives and children whom you are trying to keep alive on eight dollars a week. It will not be brought about by continuous whining and shouting of your horn about the capitalist. The revolution will only come as a result of the hard work by the working class themselves. In this campaign there will be plenty of work to do. There is literature to be distributed, signatures to be gathered, and thousand and one other things. If you want to join us or aid us in any other way then give us a call at our headquarters, 307 1-2 Pine street, room No. 6, second floor, where we meet every Monday and Thursday night. If you come there don't expect to see a lot of so-called good fellows such as saloon keepers, broken down actors, bum lawyers, middle class store-keepers, labor fakirs, pullers-in for capitalist lodges, whiskey soaked Gesangverein professors or out of a job sky pilots. What you will see is a group of plain every day workingmen, with good sound sense. Men who defy any capitalist or his lieutenants to refute their arguments. Men who are robbed, starved, and abused every day in the mines, mills, and factories, the same as you are. Men who are slaves but not willing slaves. Men who are organized to overthrow their oppressors. Will you give us a lift?

John Shafer of Shafer & Barry said yesterday:

"Our men quit work this morning. We expected they would. We have been waited on several times by representatives of the union and they demanded that we lay Potter off until the proceedings in court are finished. The union asked us to do an act that would certainly be detrimental to our business. We do not want to do anything that will be in any way antagonistic to organized labor, but it is simply impossible for us to grant this demand. Potter when expelled by the union was laid off by us with one day's notice. Now that the court has ordered him reinstated and restored to his former position in the union, we will not lay him off again unless the final decision of the court is adverse to him. If the court decides that he is not a union man we will discharge him, but not before."

The plan of Potter's attorneys is not to arrest anybody for contempt, but to call the attention of the court to the fact that the union is disobeying its order which directs the union shall accept and receive Potter as a member. They say that as these men have stopped work confessedly because at the meeting Friday night they were directed so to do and to remain out of employment of Shafer & Barry until Potter is discharged, it places them directly in contempt. It is said an effort will be made to shut the union out of court entirely until it has obeyed the temporary injunction. Persons disobeying the order of the court have no standing in the court. Argument for and against making the temporary injunction permanent is set down to

THE POTTER STRIKE

ACTION OF PAINTERS AGAINST SOLDIERS CAUSING FUROR.

They Claim He Is a Non-Union Man—Firm Won't Discharge Militiaman—Injunction He Got Against Union to be Argued Next Week.

Schenectady, N. Y., Jan. 4.—The action of the painters and decorators employed by Shafer & Barry in striking yesterday morning because the firm refused either to lay off William Potter, the National Guardsman, pending the settlement of his case in court, or to compel him to make application for membership in the union, is attracting great attention. Although only eight men went on strike the bosses are worked up as they thought the matter was all settled.

The strike order took the form of a resolution adopted by Painters and Decorators' Union No. 62, at a meeting Friday night, to the effect that the painters in this city should work in no shop which employed non-union men. The union holds that Potter is not a union man; therefore, the resolution was practically an order to those employed by Shafer & Barry to strike. The Supreme Court had just directed the union to recognize the guardsman as a member pending argument to make the injunction permanent. Dennis Downey, president of the local union, made the following statement:

"No strike has been declared at Shafer & Barry's or anywhere else, but in compliance with the resolution adopted the painters employed by the firm mentioned would not go to work yesterday morning because William Potter is not a union man. At the time of his expulsion from the union he was not a journeyman, and a card was never issued to him as such. The records of the union show that he was an apprentice boy, which entitled to a seat in the union but gave him no voice in its affairs.

"According to his own affidavit recently made he ceased to be an apprentice boy in 1901 and then became a journeyman. In view of the fact that he is now a journeyman he must be regarded as a non-union man, as he has not and never had a card, has never made application for membership and still refuses to do so. At the time of the hearing of the case in court in Troy he was present with an application blank by William Applyby, the treasurer of the union, and requested to fill out the name and send it into the union at or before the regular meeting to be held January 2. He did not comply with the request.

"Mr. Hendrick, the first vice-president of the International Union, was in this city last Monday, and after holding a conference with the executive board of the local, called on Shafer & Barry with a view of settling the matter. He requested them to have Potter make application for membership or lay him off pending the adjudication of the case in court. They refused and the matter lay open until Friday night, when the union took action."

John Shafer of Shafer & Barry said yesterday:

"Our men quit work this morning. We expected they would. We have been waited on several times by representatives of the union and they demanded that we lay Potter off until the proceedings in court are finished. The union asked us to do an act that would certainly be detrimental to our business. We do not want to do anything that will be in any way antagonistic to organized labor, but it is simply impossible for us to grant this demand.

Potter when expelled by the union was laid off by us with one day's notice. Now that the court has ordered him reinstated and restored to his former position in the union, we will not lay him off again unless the final decision of the court is adverse to him. If the court decides that he is not a union man we will discharge him, but not before."

The plan of Potter's attorneys is not to arrest anybody for contempt, but to call the attention of the court to the fact that the union is disobeying its order which directs the union shall accept and receive Potter as a member. They say that as these men have stopped work confessedly because at the meeting Friday night they were directed so to do and to remain out of employment of Shafer & Barry until Potter is discharged, it places them directly in contempt. It is said an effort will be made to shut the union out of court entirely until it has obeyed the temporary injunction. Persons disobeying the order of the court have no standing in the court. Argument for and against making the temporary injunction permanent is set down to

S. L. P. VOTE OF 1902.

States	1902	1900
California	207	181
Colorado	1,849	714
Connecticut	90	908
Illinois	8,285	1,378
Indiana	1,756	692
Massachusetts	585	390
Michigan	6,079	2,610
Missouri	1,282	908
New Jersey	2,570	1,320
Ohio	999	1,204
New York	1,918	2,074
Ohio	15,886	12,622
Pennsylvania	2,083	1,688
Rhode Island	5,262	2,936
Texas	1,283	1,423
Virginia	120	162
Washington	834	1,066
	791	531
Totals	52,805	32,964

The following observations will aid in the understanding of the above table:

This year the S. L. P. had a ticket in the above 10 States. In these States the party polled this year 32,805 as against 32,964 in the same States in 1900—a gain of 19,931.

In 1900 the S. L. P. had tickets also in

Arizona 64 votes, Georgia 24 votes, Iowa

116 votes, Maryland 33 votes, Montana 285

votes and Utah 106 votes—an aggregate of

1233. The total S. L. P. vote in 1900 was 34,101. This year's vote of 52,805 marks accordingly, an increase over a more limited area.

As to Pennsylvania, the "official returns

for the Socialist Labor Party" give 5157

votes. But this figure is not accurate as

the S. L. P. vote. After the ticket was

nominated, the nominee for governor joined in

an intrigue conducted by just a bakers'

dozen in Allegheny county to commit

treason upon the party. He was thereupon

repudiated by the party organization in the

State and Jackson set up in his stead. This,

however, happened so late an hour that

it was impossible to notify the constituency

of Pennsylvania to strike him off the S. L. P. ballot and vote for Jackson. As a result only 128 votes were cast for Jackson, according to the reports that have run in here. This Jackson vote is not included in the 5157 S. L. P. votes given in the official returns of Pennsylvania. It is swallowed up among the "scattering." On the other hand, the vote cast by the 13 Pittsburgh intrigues, and which is included in the 5157, does not belong there. Expelled by the party and left in the cold by those whom they at first succeeded in imposing upon, their votes must also be expelled from the S. L. P. total. Accordingly, deducting from the 5157 these 13 and adding the 129 Jackson votes, the corrected total is, as stated in the above table 5262.

The vote given for California, Texas and

Virginia is a local vote. As to Texas it is

subject to increase.

take place before Justice Howard in the Supreme Court in Troy on January 12.

William Potter was at work yesterday

afternoon for Shafer & Barry at 518 Summit avenue. He had not heard of the resolution adopted by the local union. He said:

"I was in hope, for the sake of all interested that no further action would be taken in this matter until it was settled in court. I want it understood that I am in no sense opposed to organized labor. I am willing to sign an application blank by William Applyby, the treasurer of the union, and requested to fill out the name and send it into the union at or before the regular meeting to be held January 2. He did not comply with the request.

"According to his own affidavit recently made he ceased to be an apprentice boy in 1901 and then became a journeyman. In view of the fact that he is now a journeyman he must be regarded as a non-union man, as he has not and never had a card, has never made application for membership and still refuses to do so. At the time of the hearing of the case in court in Troy he was present with an application blank by William Applyby, the treasurer of the union, and requested to fill out the name and send it into the union at or before the regular meeting to be held January 2. He did not comply with the request.

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A CRITICISM OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

BY KARL KAUTSKY, WITH SOME CONCLUSIONS AS TO THE PROPER DEFINITION OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

If we look up the Socialist movement in this country as it was several years ago and compare it with the present, we will find a striking difference between then and now, a difference so apparent that it cannot escape even him who only keeps up the relationship of a sympathizer towards the S. L. P.

That such a comparison shows progress is openly admitted by everyone who knows a little more than the A B C of Socialism; he is friend or enemy. However, there are some who admit this fact, but still question some moves which are, if closely examined, seen to be nothing else but conditions that either are causes or the natural results of that progress.

Considering these facts, we must ask why it is that those progressive steps were not made long ago?—and why is it that some who are very familiar with the movement still doubt the correctness of those steps?

As to the first question, it will be explained if we can show that the fault is with some of our most prominent literature; however, that will not answer the second question fully, for among those who are doubting Thomas are many who are quite able to judge events by facts, and such would never allow themselves to be permanently misled by words. Perhaps in looking up our literature we may also find the key to the answer for the second question.

Another strange question must be asked before we proceed, namely, how could it happen that some of the authors of our most prominent literature lost themselves in the mud to such an extent that they ignore or deny the constant antagonism between the working class and the capitalist class? Such a slip throws suspicion on the writings of such men. Therefore, let us take up the pamphlet "The Class Struggle," by Karl Kautsky, as an example. It commences with the following words:

"Modern society cannot escape shipwreck unless it reorganize itself into the Socialist Republic." After a short explanation what the term "Socialist Republic" means, he says further: "The substitution of the co-operative or Socialist system of production is in the interest not of the propertless class alone, but of the individuals in all other classes as well." A little further down he draws the following conclusion and confronts it with the real fact: "It would be thought from these premises that all classes of society, capitalists and landlords, no less than proletarians, would join in the establishment of the Socialist Republic. The reverse is the case."

The next two pages contain a lengthy explanation that the rich would "have nothing to gain forthwith by the abolition of private property in the means of production," and that "not a few might be deprived also of their present ease and comfort in idleness."

These last sentences are entirely correct and clear as daylight, and one must ask himself why it is that Kautsky seemingly overlooked these facts when he made the two assertions quoted in this criticism first? Was that merely a dialectical figure constructed for the purpose of leading to a conclusion which is in striking contrast with the facts and thereby make the facts more apparent to the readers eyes? If it is only then that it may be called all right, although in teaching

the working class, plain language, which avoids all delusions, is always preferable. But let us look further. On the same page we find also the following sentences: "Indeed, so shocking are the conditions in modern society that no one who wishes to be taken seriously in politics or in science dares any longer to deny the justice of the charges preferred by Socialism against the present social order. On the contrary, the clearest heads in all the various capitalist political parties admit that there is 'some truth' in those charges," and on page 4 we read further: "The idealists are the only ones among the upper ranks of the property-holding classes whose support it is at all possible to enlist in favor of Socialism."

In these few quotations we have Kautsky in a nutshell. He knows full well that the capitalist class as such is hostile to socialism and is forced by material interest to be so, though he pleads in favor of the individual, he is even so simple and innocent that he believes that such partial admittances by capitalist politicians are meant to be honest—honest to the working class—while in fact, they are nothing but baits and are, almost without exception, meant maliciously, and even if meant honestly, are bound to act mischievously against the working class, for it is impossible for any politician to act in favor of the working class without separating himself, first of all, entirely from the capitalist class, and second, affiliate himself with the working class movement by joining its organization and abiding in its decisions.

In writing this fact, K. Kautsky makes the mistake of his life, and in this neglect we find the root of the famous or infamous, Kautsky-Milner resolution where he gives expression to the sentimental idea that a man who delivers himself entirely into the hands of the capitalist class can still do something for the working class. This is a mistake even if applied to any other struggle, and much more so in the class struggle. He who depends on the capitalist class for his existence is bound to serve the capitalist class, and, if he tries to deny that, he is not more nor less than a traitor.

In the fact that this mistake is still endorsed by a good many socialists, who still look to lawyers and ministers, etc., as their rescuers, we find the answer to the questions raised in the beginning of this criticism. By avoiding this error we will be able to define the class struggle much more clearly, and draw a line much more sharply then Kautsky was able to do. If Kautsky's line which is drawn in the class struggle between the working class and the capitalist class must be a zig-zag line, our line will be a straight one and that is quite an advantage for us. However, with this we have outlined only one side of our movement, namely, the front against the capitalist class; as soon as we are confronted by other workingmen's organizations or other workingmen's movements we will be unable to distinguish friend or enemy on the merits of the above facts alone; we must find another guide, other facts by the light of which we may be able to draw a clear line also on this side of our movement, and thereby safeguard it against attacks from the back.

Before we take up Kautsky, what he says on that point of the subject, let us have a look at history, which may, for this purpose, be viewed best from the standpoint which suggests itself through the first three passages quoted in this criticism. First, "Modern society cannot escape shipwreck unless it reorganize itself into the Socialist Republic. Second, The substitution of the co-operative or socialist system of production for the capitalist system of production is in the interest not of the propertless class alone, but of the individuals in all other classes as well." Third, "It would be thought from these premises that all classes of society, capitalists and landlords, no less than proletarians, would join in the establishment of the Socialist Republic. The reverse is the case."

Yes. But there is an if. If human society would consider itself a society with the only object to help

each other in the struggle with nature, from whose sources it has to wrest its existence, then the conclusion would be as correct and as plain as daylight. However, that never has been.

From time immemorial men have found it more convenient to fight with their fellow men for the goods which they had produced, instead of taking up the task of producing for themselves, with their own labor. This robbery became successively such a noble business, that it was sanctioned by superstitions, called religions, and by laws.

In succession it became a sacred privilege for a limited class within each nation, or even tribe. Of course, this class was supposed at first to only rob other nations, tribes, etc., and defend their own. However, there soon began a certain struggle between this class and the other members within the community, which was very often more fierce than the struggle with other communities. This struggle has been conducted through all ages, by oratory, sophistry, decrees and laws, and with imprisonment, torture, fire and sword. Priests, politicians, jurors, henchmen, warriors, artists and scientists have been busily engaged in the fight. It was carried on as well on the economic as on every other field, with changing results, many such struggles ending with the destruction of a whole nation. To this fate every nation was doomed in which the upper, the robber class, succeeded in downing the producing propertyless class entirely; while on the other hand, nations in which the producing class managed to keep the upper class in check, flourished and spread. With the introduction of steam and machinery in the process of production, things changed, the fight became a hopeless one for the proletarian.

In all the ages preceding the capitalist system, the wealth of the rich consisted of land, cattle, slaves and serfs. To produce goods, labor power was necessary. This labor power was mostly extracted from the slaves and serfs. The more labor power those slaves and serfs could yield the more could be produced. In fact, all their land and cattle were worthless to the rich without this labor power. They were dependent on it and consequently had to take care of it. They could not starve the producers of labor power without starving themselves. On the other hand, the producers might have been able to starve their lord without starving themselves. They had access to the sources of nature, they had the economic power in their hand. However, at that time, owing to the primitive means of transportation and communication, international understanding was impossible, and, therefore, the proletariat could not escape being robbed anyway, and, perhaps, might have been still more subdued by the hostile nations surrounding their own. They were therefore bound to their lord and only extremely dreadful treatment could stir them to rebel.

With the introduction of steam power and machinery in the process of production the lord became master. He could untie the knot which tied him to his slaves and serfs, he freed himself by freeing them; more than that, he freed himself from the dependence on the soil by becoming master of the means of production. So we see to-day, the landlords representing a distinctly, separate fraction among the capitalists. The capitalist even threw away the privilege to have a larger or smaller number of proletarians bound to his person or family, but, by taking hold of the means of production and distribution, he grasped the power to starve the propertyless, and, to a great extent, also the small property holders, into submission without starving himself. The proletariat was entirely divorced from the soil, it had no access to the sources of nature, and it was left hanging in the air, so to speak. K. Kautsky recognizes this when he says on page 24 and 25: "By stripping the workingman of all property, the capitalist system of production has loosened him from his threshold. To-day he enjoys no fixed domicile, and cannot properly be said to have a home. With the merchant he has taken up the maxim 'ubi bene ibi patria'—wherever the conditions for work are most favorable there is his home. At present the migrations of the working class, sided greatly by our modern facilities

for transportation, constitute the most stupendous migration of nations mankind has ever witnessed. Of the modern proletarian it may be said with justice that he has become nomadic, and happy may he consider himself if in his peregrinations his wife and children can accompany him instead of being torn from his side.

"The same as the proletariat, does the merchant seek to become independent from his own threshold, and to let himself down wherever the interests of his business require it?"

So far Kautsky. When the working class began to realize these facts it commenced to dispute the right of robbery altogether and by natural necessity was forced to open the fight on the political field, seeing that its members had no economic means to fight with, and then and there the class struggle commenced. This political struggle, however, is a preliminary one and serves only to gain control of the means of production and, as soon as a point can be gained it must (like a battery) be trained on the enemy. The class struggle will never be finished unless it is finished on the economic field.

Now, let us see what Kautsky says in regard to this point. On page 11 we read: "All class struggle is a political struggle." On page 18, he refers to what he calls "Wild labor socialism" with the words: "It also was hostile to the class struggle—that is to say, to its highest form, its political form;" and on page 20, he speaks "of the highest and most intelligent form of the class struggle—the political strife." From this we might judge that the struggle described above which, was waged through all ages arose to the dignity of a class struggle as soon as it was carried over to the political field. However, another point of view is added on page 20 and 21, where he says:

"For the socialist movement and the necessary for Socialism to raise itself each other and to merge into one, it was necessary for socialism to raise itself above the sphere of utopianism. The class struggle of the proletariat acquires from that moment a different character. So long as it lacks the socialist system of production as its conscious aim, so long as the effort of the militant proletariat fails within the framework of the present system of production, so long does the class struggle move in a circle, without gaining an inch, and the labors of the proletariat to improve its condition resemble those of Sisyphus, who eternally rolled a stone up a hill never to see it roll back again, and to find himself no further at the beginning of the next day than he was at the beginning of the previous day. The abasing tendencies of the capitalist system of production are not removed, or at best they are only temporarily checked by the class struggle and its incidental victories."

From all this we might draw the conclusion that the economic struggle of the working class is bound to move within the framework of the present system of production, while the political struggle oversteps that line and alone is able to overstep it. But with that conclusion we would have to omit the fact that the struggle of the militant proletariat that fails within the framework of the present system of production is not merely an economic one, but has its own political tail which has nothing in common with the political strife and, which on the contrary, with its tendency to compromise for the sake of temporary benefit, is even antagonistic to the class struggle, in which every compromise with the capitalist class, or even with single members thereof would mean a giving up of the final aim in favor of a temporary questionable benefit.

Furthermore, it has been shown that the struggle for the socialist system of production only became a possibility and a necessity with the development of the capitalist system and that it was all out of question and impossible before that system. On the other hand, we see that the struggle within the framework of the present condition has not at all ceased, but rages fiercer than ever, between the producers and exploiters, on the political field as well as on the economic field; therefore, let us for clearness' sake designate this kind of strug-

gle as the struggle for existence and give the name "Class Struggle" only to that which has the socialist system of production as its conscious aim. If we do that then, and only then, will we be able to draw a clear and sharp line all around our movement and keep everything out which is hostile or misleading in its tendency and by that safeguard it against attacks from all sides.

The fact that the struggle for existence and the class struggle are hostile to each other is even recognized plump and plain by Kautsky in the following passage (notwithstanding that he tries hard in the preceding two pages to explain it away). On page 20, he says: "No more than the utopian socialists of the upper classes were the early proletarian reformers" (and we may add also the present proletarian reformers) "able to overcome the antagonism that existed originally between socialism and the labor movement. True enough, the proletarian utopians were occasionally compelled to take a hand in the class struggle, but being devoid of any theoretical knowledge, their occasional participation in the class struggle did not mature into a consolidation of socialism with the labor movement, but in the suppression of the former by the latter. It is a notorious fact that wherever anarchism of whatever stamp, takes hold of the labor movement and temporarily enters upon the class struggle, it sooner or later, despite all its seeming radicalism, winds up in trade unionism, pure and simple, with all the impurity, corruption, and retrogression that the term implies."

Now, let us ask: Isn't it proletarian utopianism to claim that a fight for more wages is a class struggle? Isn't it the height of proletarian utopianism when Kautsky says on page 20: "The American workingman has every reason to wish and as far as in him lies to work for it, that the workingmen of European countries secure higher wages and shorter hours?" We need not answer these questions, we need only confront the last quotation with another one already quoted above, namely: "And the labors of the proletariat to improve its conditions resemble those of Sisyphus, who eternally rolled a stone up a hill never to see it roll back again, and to find himself no further at the beginning of the next day than he was at the beginning of the previous day. The abasing tendencies of the capitalist system of production are not removed, or at best they are only temporarily checked by the class struggle and its incidental victories?" Now, what else is the securing of higher wages and shorter hours than an incidental victory?

The fact that the struggle for higher wages and shorter hours on one side and the class struggle for the socialist system of production are hostile to each other is as natural as night and day. The struggle for shorter hours and higher wages, to be successful required a force which absorbs all the energy and brain work of those engaged in it. It is the very same thing with the class struggle, with the difference only that the latter requires still more energy and brainwork. No wonder that the leaders of both are unable to come to an understanding and always will be at war with each other.

But yet it is an undeniable fact that both struggles are not only justified nowadays, but are an absolute necessity. The only way, therefore, to avoid eternal friction between both (of which only the capitalist class would be the beneficiary) seems to be to keep both separated and allow neither to interfere with the other. The struggle for higher wages and shorter hours is bound to outlive itself with the development of human society.

In conclusion I wish to say that I am almost sure that this will meet with opposition from some quarters, and therefore all and every comrade is hereby requested and challenged to say whatever he may have to say on the foregoing subject. Only by free and unlimited criticism will we be able to find and determine the right way.

A. Metzler.

Rochester, N. Y.

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Dr. Best, the leader of the Prohibitionists, who are mostly members of this sect, answered for them.

"We endorsed Mr. Powell, the Addicks' candidate, because he came to me and declared he was a temperate man and would vote for local option. We were interested only in the question of temperance; not in Addicks or anti-Addicks. But at a meeting the other day we were informed that there were doubts about whether Mr. Powell could help us, so we adopted a resolution to stay at home and take no part in this election."

The other polling-booth was in a tenement close by a sawmill at Farmington. About it, over against the sawmill, stood silent groups of tenant farmers. Very few were not of the 'po' white' class familiar in Southern States—with bare light eyes, scant, scraggy beards, marks of improper nourishment and of physical degeneracy. Addicks's Senator, rosy, excellently dressed, director in several State Gas companies, stood near, in front of them. He might typify to their dull eyes the splendor of Addicksism. Men left the polling-booth by the back door, stood awhile among their neighbors by the sawmill, then disappeared.

"They are paying them off in the sawmill," remarked Senator Harrington. "Can't you get evidence? Can't you stop it?"

"No—no use," he answered. "As soon as we approached, you would merely see a couple of men here and a couple of men there sitting on the log-run, or standing against the wall—nothing more." We approached, and it was as he said.

"If two or three persons could see money pass from an Addicks agent to a voter," he remarked, "Addicks would be in jail."

"We'll find out to-day who are Democrats and who are not," said ex-Senator Keane, the county Democratic leader. "We will indeed. But what good will it do?" went on Mr. Harrington. "A man came to me one night in November and said: 'This is the only coat I have. My children have no shoes. My wife hasn't had a new dress for I don't know how long. To-night they offered me \$25 for my vote. I refused it; I'm going to vote as I think; but I feel like I need somebody to tell me.' 'That's right, stick to it, Bill, and God bless you.' And after election we chipped in and bought some shoes for his children and a present for his wife. But we can't meet bribery with bribery, nor even with rewards of merit. We are not rich in Delaware. It's awful, what this one man Addicks has done to our people. Twenty dollars is a terrible temptation to flash before poor men like these at a time when no money is coming in. They are getting to expect it now, whichever way they have shown, it would be simply your word against the denial of the briber."

Hearing some one ask a watcher at the polls how many voters had been registered, a man near by, decent and intelligent in appearance, broke in: "Only 312. There's no encouragement to vote today."

"Have you voted?"

"Not yet," he smiled.

"What encouragement do you want?" he was asked.

"Are you with Addicks?" he questioned in response.

"No."

"Then there's no use saying."

"What are the Holiness people doing to-day?" some one was moved to inquire.

"They are getting to expect it now, whichever way they have shown."

"Who was he?" Senator Harrington wanted to know.

"Jim Jenkins," replied Cahill.

"One of my men came to me this morning," Senator Harrington resumed, "and said the Addicks people got him out of bed at 4 o'clock this morning and gave him \$18 for his vote. He's voted, and I suppose he voted Addicks's way. They went all over the precinct fast night in carriages after they got back from Philadelphia."

The sensation of the day, to the strangers, was the report that the Anti-Addicks Republican candidate had himself deserted to the common enemy. He had

ADDICKS'S METHODS

BY WHOLESALE CORRUPTION HE ELECTS HIS MAN.

The Way the Purity of the Ballot is Upheld by That Capitalist in Delaware — How Arrangements Were Made With Voters.

Delaware, Dec. 31.—Addicks and his men have carried the day. Encouraged by anti-Addicks Republican, the Democratic County Committee resolved to spend no money on the by-election for a representative to the Legislature from the Ninth District, where the Addicks Republican and the Democratic candidate each received 424 votes on November 4. The Democrats expected a complete victory.

At the count last night it was found that Addicks's man received 496 and the Democrat 304—a plurality of 192 won in a Democratic district by the Addicks' method. Two years ago, in the Presidential election, Senator Harrington, Democrat, received a plurality of 119 in that district. The Democrats are now asking themselves what they can do to stop the influence of Addicks' purse. They cannot stop it with a purse as big, if they wanted to, for they have not got it; and yesterday's results clearly indicate that the voters vote as they are paid to do.

Monday the Addicks' leaders went to Philadelphia to consult with their chief and receive the bank bills. They returned on an afternoon train to Harrington and to Farmington, the two precincts comprising the district to be conquered, and Addicks alighted at Wilmington. It was wondered how he would carry on the battle this time—for no two campaigns are conducted alike. Sometimes, in order to collect your money, you must present a black bean which has been given to you in the polling booth by the (Addicks') "voters' assistant" whom you have called to bear witness that "the goods" were delivered. Sometimes it is a gun-wad with holes punched in it, two holes meaning \$20, three holes meaning \$30. Sometimes the token is a campaign button, of which Addicks has bought the entire supply; and again there is a check-list, and when the "voters' assistant" emerges from the booth with his victim he gives a signal to the checker-off, lifting his hat or pulling down his cuff. In an election not long ago the agent stood upon a corner, like a county-fair fakir, with a package of banknotes folded conveniently over his forefinger. Today, there being but two polling booths, visitors came from various places to look on; the method was not so open.

WEEKLY PEOPLE

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888.....	2,060
In 1892.....	21,157
In 1896.....	36,564
In 1900.....	34,191
In 1902.....	52,895

A SPECIMEN FROM THE QUARRY.

The Labor papers from Chicago reflect a strong movement under way in the ranks of Union Labor to set up Clarence S. Darrow as its candidate for Mayor in the approaching municipal election. The move, or thought, fitly headed by one of these papers with the question: "What shall we do to be saved?" is, in the domain of social science, what a fine mineral specimen would be to the mineralogist.

When mass-poverty had, relatively and absolutely touched in Rome the point of discontent, perpetual up-bubbling and threatening, all the physical conditions were at hand for a social overturn. The overturn did not come. What kept it off? The utter class-unconsciousness, in other words, the psychologic unripeness, of the physical element by which alone the revolution could have been accomplished. The conclusive sign of this fatal unripeness was the poise of the masses on the head of leadership. To use their own terminology, they looked for "a man of senatorial rank" to lead them. In other words, the vigor that only a consciousness of their own class could impart, was absent. This quickening force being absent, the potentially revolutionary element relied, not on elements within, but on elements without its own camp "to be saved." The issue was that, catching at the straw of one sentimental leader "of senatorial rank" after another, the Roman masses finally developed into a pliant war-horse, ridden by the Caesars.

In reaching out beyond their own camp for Clarence S. Darrow "to save them," the working class masses of Chicago are following in the footsteps of the Roman plebs. Mr. Darrow, the present counsel for the miners, is essentially a sentimentalist. He is of that sympathetic class, among the well-to-do and professional men whose heart does more bleeding for the woes of the workingman than its head does thinking in the workingman's behalf. It was via the Gracchi that the Caesars came. The road that leads over the Darrow must be blocked: at the end of the avenue stands, ready waiting, the Man on Horseback.

It is no pedantic turn of mind that pushes the S. L. P. to preach unremittingly, and insist upon keeping clear the line of demarcation between class interests; nor yet is it yearning for physical conflict that directs the Party to fan the flames of class antagonism. Just the reverse: pedanticism revels in phrases that argue likenesses where none exist, and nothing but sorrow flows from blindness to facts. Class-consciousness not merely renders the working class intelligent, above all it quickens among them that sense of self-respect and self-reliance, without which they would be just so much dead weight for the Socialist Movement to carry and Socialism would be impossible, but with which the workingman becomes fit to carry the Socialist Movement, fit for emancipation.

ALL ROADS LEAD TO ROME.

At the reassembling of Congress Senator Mason is to introduce a bill "in the interest of the public" so as to give relief in future emergencies or strikes. The plan is simple. So simple that it recalls Columbus' trick of standing an egg on end. It is to empower the Federal Attorney General, "in the name of the public," to apply to the courts for the appointment of a receiver, who SHALL HAVE THE POWER TO GET OUT THE COAL AND SELL IT, PAY THE MINERS AND MAKE A PROPER ACCOUNTING THROUGH THE COURTS TO THE OWNERS.

All roads lead to Rome. The old adage here receives as up-to-date as it is a brilliant application.

The "Rome," which the capitalist class seeks to reach, is amieness of wealth—for themselves. This is a goal attainable only by the road of keeping the working class down, compelled to labor at a minimum. The common highway towards that "Rome" is becoming less and less passable. Macadamized as it is with the Macadam of the fiction "Freedom to labor," it has become impassable at spots. The Macadam did well at one time, but it has worn out; the wheels of the capitalist wagon sink deep in the puddles that time and weather have worn into the thing. Such an "impasse" occurred last summer when the miners refused to work under the grievous conditions imposed upon them by the operators. As election was on, the miners had an unparalleled opportunity to win out, which is to say, to block the capitalists' progress to their Rome. But there was another road to Rome, and it was timely seized. With the aid of John Mitchell, the capitalists succeeded in inducing the miners to surrender, and return to work under the identical conditions that they had struck against. The "inducement" was an Arbitration Commission, but that, as is becoming plain even to the blind, was but a blind. It was but "another road to Rome."

Now, this road did well enough as an emergency road. But it has many inconveniences. Senator Mason proposes another road, and it certainly will lead to "Rome" with the directness of an arrow. The moment a strike breaks out, the Attorney General applies for, and, of course, obtains a receiver of the concern struck against. The receiver, a FEDERAL OFFICER, BACKED BY ALL THE PHYSICAL FORCE OF THE GOVERNMENT, then proceeds to run the concern and PAY THE WORKERS. — what workers? Why, those who will work under the conditions struck against. Not for nothing will that receiver be a Federal functionary, with all the Armies and Navies and Courts of the Nation at his call.

What Mitchell will now arise to serve as a Labor Sign-post, and point out this Mason road to the Working Class, and thus again switch them from the forth-right of Socialism?

TOSSING 'EM ON A BLANKET.

An article in the "Bakers' Journal," on the "Socialist discussion" and vote at the late New Orleans convention of the A. F. of L., and bristling with points, is making the rounds of the trade journals. Two of these points merit mention.

The first point goes to confirm the views, often expressed in these columns, that the hurrahs of the Socialist party, alias Social Democratic party men, on the score of "the large vote that their resolution got," are the merest bunkum. The "Bakers' Journal" states that "the Socialist politicians" were, by reason of that vote, given "a prominence quite unwarranted by actual facts and sentiments." And it proceeds to convey the valuable information that the original resolution was whittled down by the "Socialist politicians" so as "to make it suitable to all tastes" until it became "a very harmless affair." Accordingly, so far from the said "large vote" being, what it has been termed in some quarters, "a lie given to the Socialist Labor Party theory," it, together with all that thereby hangs, is just what The People has all along claimed: the regulation farce comedy "Boring from Within," which is annually performed on the stage of the A. F. of L. conventions by certain schemers as the leading actors, backed in good old classic style by a chorus and semi-choruses of the fatuous and the designing.

The next point made by the "Bakers' Journal" is supplemental to the first:

Approach the subject as you may, by opening the doors of trades unions to party politics you will have to let in all parties for there is none that has not the welfare of the working class upon its program. Now trades unions have the mission to unite all workers for the purpose of pooling their strength.... on questions having passed the state of theoretical discussion.

Who, what holds this language? Why, one of those pure and simple organizations, whom the above referred to "Socialist politicians" speak of as "noble wagers of the class struggle." And what is more, this organization voices accurately the sentiments of its whole kith and kin. Here, then, we have organizations, that claim to be limbs of the working class, and who,

in this year of grace 1902, still consider the class interests of Labor as not yet "having passed the state of theoretical discussion"! who placidly look upon the economic-political issues raised by the parties of capital as questions that, once they shall have passed the "state of theoretical discussion," may yet form a part of the pool on which it is the "mission of trades unions to unite their strength"!

The trades union theory advanced by the "Bakers' Journal" supplements its exposure of the "Socialist politicians." It explains why, and it justifies the ill concealed contempt it has for the set by placing them in line with the capitalist parties. Men who will presume to handle so revolutionary a question as Socialism, and who resort to the quack doctor's artifice to ingratiate themselves; who, on the top of that, pursue the patent medicine man's craftiness of seeking advertisement by "endorsements"; and who cap the climax by the cowardly act of supporting with their vote the arch-adversary of their "principles" for president, and by the dishonest act of themselves accepting an election as "representative" abroad of a body that, if they are sincere, they can not act as a representative of;—such men are fit only to be tossed on a blanket, as the "Bakers' Journal" neatly does the "Socialist politicians."

THE ON-COMING "UNION CARD."

The move of the United States Steel Corporation, to turn its employees into stock-holders, has been quickly adopted by the Pressed Steel Car Company. In more or less amended form, the move is essentially the same.

Is the move a sporadic one? Is it, perhaps one limited to just one, the iron and steel industry? Or does the plutocratic stage, that upper capitalism has developed into, and which brings and has brought the magnates of all industries into one camp—the financiers camp, around one green table—the banker's table, denote that the move will be general? Of course, as yet, sufficient facts are not in court to justify a positive conclusion. Nevertheless, such facts as are in, together with such signs as the projected mammoth cigar factory in Chicago by the Tobacco Trust, where "none but union men are to be employed," warrant the risking of a theory.

The on-coming "Union Card" is to change complexion. It will cease to be a 3x5 inch bit of paste-board or booklet, and will become a "Certificate of Stock." Wide-reaching will be the results thereof.

Hitherto the "Unionman" paid his dues to the Union officer. In many cases the employer is now acting as the collecting agent. The funds thus collected have to be turned over to the Union. The "Certificate of Stock" card will obviate all that was herein objectionable to the employer.

First. The "Unionman's" dues will henceforth cease to run into the Union's treasury: they will run straight into the employer's bank.

Second. The labor-lieutenants of the capitalist class are side-tracked.

Third. The bond that will hold the "Unionsmen" together in their "noble waging of the class struggle" will be the galley slave's emulation: fear of being cut out from dividends, enthusiasm in converting as much life tissue as possible into dividends.

Statistics of Labor Bureaus will bulge with tables demonstrating, to the fraction of a decimal fraction, the up-ward-bound "prosperity of the workingmen." From being, as they once were, propertyless men and women "giving a color to the vicious Socialist theory about classes," things will be shown to have changed so materially that now "the workingman" has taken his place by the side of the "capitalist," and the interests of both vibrate in unison in the stock exchanges of the land."

Finally the warring theologies will quit their wrangles. Sects will disappear. The Messiah being an intangible magnitude, disputes concerning him are bound to spring up. Being present, sensible to feelings as to sight (at least statistically) the new Messiah will be acknowledged by all. Peace and happiness will reign on earth. And the token will be new the "Union Card." Who would refuse jumping on the bandwagon? Who would still "croak"?

Not for nothing have great things been prophesied for the 20th Century.

REMEMBER
"MOZLE"
CIGARETTES

CONTENTED DELAWARE.

Little Delaware has just been "convinced from center to circumference." What about? That's the rub.

On Tuesday, the 30th of December, there was a by-election in one of her Districts for Representative to the Legislature. It was an election to break a tie; the constituency is small; the office at stake insignificant. For all that, the event was notable.

Last November the voting in the Kent county Ninth Representative District for the Legislature resulted in a tie. Had the issue of the election been any otherwise, it would not have had any determining effect on the "one great issue" before the Legislature and the whole State. That "one great issue" is Addicks.—J. Edward Addicks, a Bay State Gas Company magnate.

Addicks aspires to a seat in the United States Senate; has a following as a nominal Republican; has, of course, "regular" and "irregular" competitors; though he leads on joint ballot, yet he lacks the requisite majority for an election. The result has been a deadlock. This result has carried others in its wake.

During the dead-lock to fill the vacancy aspired to by Addicks, a second vacancy occurred in the Delaware representation in the United States Senate: the slogan that quickly went up on both sides turned on Addicks: it was "Addicks, or Delaware's two seats in the Senate shall remain vacant," and "No Addicks, or Delaware's two seats shall remain vacant."

On top of this second dead-lock, other dead-locks have followed, and more are threatened: Both sides threaten to block up all legislation, unless they succeed in electing or defeating Addicks, as the case may be. And thus the merry fight has gone on for years.

Looked at impartially, there is no difference whatever between Addicks and any other United States Senator, the sentimental Hoar of Massachusetts, perhaps, excepted. Like Addicks, they are all rich capitalists, and aspire to become richer. Like Addicks there is not one of them whose wealth was not attained by ways and means neatly suggested by the distich:

The higher the plum-tree, the riper the plum;
The richer the cobbler, the blacker his thumb.

Like Addicks, they all seek to dignify the pig-sty source of their affluence and power with the Senatorial mantle, and, inversely, to turn the Senatorial mantle into mere dollars and cents. Finally, just like Addicks, they all have their "machine," and use it for all it is worth. All this notwithstanding, poverty is known to exist from New York across to California. Nor is the picture of the political corruption, that misery pinches man to one, peculiar to Delaware: from California back to New York, such scenes are the invariable accompaniment to elections everywhere. It is not, cannot be otherwise. And yet, for all that, between the conditions that are being revealed by Delaware campaigns, and the conditions revealed by campaigns in most other States, there is a difference as deep and as marked as there is between the Dismal Swamp and fields, that, though submerged, are pregnant with rich pasture and forest growths, struggling into sunlight and life.

In most other States, the SPIRIT OF DISCONTENT has more or less raised its head. More or less blind, as yet; more or less intelligent, the rejuvenating Spirit is there. DISCONTENT is a symptom of physical, intellectual and moral virility. It is a spark that, tho' it may flare up into devastating conflagration, is alone capable of shooting up into the flame that purifies, the flame that consumes the decaying vegetation of a dying social order, and warms into growth and vigor, rich foliage and fruit, the vegetation of a new social order. Where there is DISCONTENT, there HOPE is. Inspired by the fire of the former, buoyed up on the wings of the latter, in most other States, the nucleus is gathering of men and women determined to resist the incubus of POVERTY, groping to find the way out, resolute to grapple with the problem, resolute to solve it. And thus, while all around them, the mephitic gases of corruption, emitted by those with whom POVERTY has cracked the springs of physical, intellectual and moral virility, hover at political campaigns, this rebel, DISCONTENTED nucleus stands out as a rainbow promise of the Future, and illuminates the field—illuminates it in the measure of the virile intelligence of their discontent.

It is in view of all this that the recent Kent county Ninth District by-election has its significance. Addicks was short six votes on joint ballot. One more vote in the Legislature would not change results. But "each vote counts," and so the fight was bitter: "Honesty" and "Dishonesty" showed the teeth to each other. And what happened?

At the November election there were four tickets in the field: the Addicks Republican candidate with 424 votes, the Democratic candidate with 424 votes, the Regular Republican candidate with 34 votes, and the Prohibition candidate with 27 votes. Of these four, the Prohibitionist party is essentially a religious party. It consists mainly of Holiness men—an extreme branch of Methodists whose special effort is to "spread holiness." And now came the by-election.

What became of the "Holiness men"? They vanished. What became of the sanctimonious "Anti-Addicks," or "Regular Republicans"? They vanished. And what became of the "sturdy Jefferson Democrats," who turned up their noses and passed the other way at the very mention of a Republican, an Addicks' Republican especially? Well, they did not quite vanish. The election returns tell the whole tale: Only two tickets turned up. The Addicks candidate, whose poll rose from 424 to 496, and was elected; and the Democratic candidate, whose poll dropped to 304. Who furnished the 72 votes that Addicks' man got? Was it the absentee Democrats? or the absentee Regular Republicans? or the absentee Holiness men? or did all of these "chip in"?

Delaware may be little. But at times littleness may be great. Delaware illustrates the point. In her confines there is not a ripple or what is called "discontent." The Single Taxers once tried to start the ripple there, but failed. Delaware is "contented." Unstirred, even by cat's-paws of the outside storm, that is rising and portending a new era via new issues, "contented" Delaware, like Parades' virginity, "breeds mites, much like cheese," and is proud of it.

Another professor has discovered that Rockefeller's money is tainted and therefore cannot be morally used in education. That is good, but it is not enough. To say that Rockefeller should be condemned for "underselling poor men, crowding them out of business and immediately raising the price of the very wares, which they would not allow other men to sell," is to look at the matter from a middle-class-consumer's standpoint. It implies a desire to see the little man re-established. This is reactionary and would prove of no benefit, for were the poor men given an opportunity they would undersell Rockefeller and do the same as he. This is due to the inherent nature of their business. They only differ from Rockefeller in degree and not in kind. What is wanted then to complete the professor's discovery is the fact that Rockefeller must be replaced by Socialism and the immense economic benefits of his industries diverted from him to the working class.

The newspapers are again pointing to the growth in national banking as an index of the prosperity of the country. Frank Vanderlip, a recognized authority on banking, has shown that this growth is mainly due to the conversion of trust securities into bank collateral. He has shown that in the concentration of industry the owners of the plants combined have been paid in stock largely in excess of the true value, and that these stocks have been deposited in banks and accepted by them as collateral. Thus, according to him, this growth is due to the great movement toward trustification, and is to a great extent fictitious, in that it is based on over-capitalization. When, then, the newspapers say that this financial growth is an index of the prosperity of the country, we are compelled to state the facts. The capitalist class is not the country. It is but 2 per cent. of the popula-

tion off that parasite mistletoe which city people will buy at Christmas. Again:

The other polling-booth was in a tenement close by a sawmill, at Farmington. About it over against the sawmill, stood silent groups of tenant farmers. Very few were not of the "po' white" class, familiar in Southern States—with bear light eyes, scant, scraggy beards, marks of improper nourishment and of physical degeneracy. Addicks's Senator, rosy, excellently dressed, director in several Bay State Gas companies, stood near, in front of them. He might typify to their dull eyes the splendor of Addicksism. Men left the polling-booth by the back door, stood awhile among their neighbors by the sawmill, then disappeared. "They were paying them off in the sawmill."

Again:

An old reputable citizen told this story: "A man came home one night in November and said: 'This is the only coat I have. My children have none. My wife hasn't had a new dress for I don't know how long. Tonight they offered me \$25 for my vote. I refused it; I'm going to vote as I think; but I felt like I needed somebody to tell me 'That's right, stick to it.' So I said to him: 'Stick to it, Bill, and God bless you.' And after election we chipped in and bought some books for his children and a present for his wife. But we can't meet bribery with bribery, nor even with rewards of merit. We are not rich in Delaware. It's awful what this one man Addicks has done to our people. Twenty dollars is a terrible temptation to flash before poor men like these at a time when no money is coming in. They are getting to expect it now, whichever way they vote. They have been depraved."

In the picture of misery, drawn by the above descriptions, there is nothing new, or exceptional: just such poverty is known to exist from New York across to California. Nor is the picture of the political corruption, that misery pinches man to one, peculiar to Delaware: from California back to New York, such scenes are the invariable accompaniment to elections everywhere. It is not, cannot be otherwise. And yet, for all that, between the conditions that are being revealed by Delaware campaigns, and the conditions revealed by campaigns in most other States, there is a difference as deep and as marked as there is between the Dismal Swamp and fields, that, though submerged, are pregnant with rich pasture and forest growths, struggling into sunlight and life.

In most other States, the SPIRIT OF DISCONTENT has more or less raised its head. More or less blind, as yet; more or less intelligent, the rejuvenating Spirit is there. DISCONTENT is a symptom of physical, intellectual and moral virility.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Our correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will at the same time give their true name to their communications, include their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.

The News announces a "Special Prosperity" edition of the paper at New Year's. Notwithstanding this the charitable institutions are assisting "the needy poor." Comment unnecessary.

Militant. Tacoma, Wash. Dec. 22.

Another Prize for Monthly People Workers.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—George Fred Williams, one of the most prominent of the radical wing of the Democrats in Massachusetts, has openly espoused the cause of the Socialist party, and will devote his time and ability to its upbuilding."—(Appeal to Reason, November 22, 1902, eighth page, fifth column).

This statement was brought to my attention by a friend as a proof that the Multi-Nominal party was growing in influence and power, and as the "Appeal to Reason" is used by the Kangs as campaign leaflets this statement probably influenced a large number of Democrats to vote the so-called Socialist ticket in the city elections, as some of them believe in and worship the man regardless of what the principle he is standing for represents.

Knowing this I wrote Mr. Williams, and quoted the statement at length. I also added: "This is very important, and you should either affirm or deny the same: the reason why I call your attention to the above statement is because of its significance."

I enclose Mr. Williams' reply, this will help clear up the matter.

"Boston, Dec. 22, 1902.

"Mr. Jeremiah Devine,

"North Abington, Mass.

"My Dear Sir:—Pardon my delay in answering your favor of the eighth.

"The statement made in the Appeal to Reason was without justification in fact. I have announced my intention of fighting the coming year for the Democratic organization, and, of course that would be entirely inconsistent with a decision on my part to 'openly espouse the cause of the Socialist party.'

"I have not denied this statement because I never deny newspaper falsehoods.

"They are so many in number that I should be kept answering them all the time if I should undertake it, so I leave them to be answered by my record. Very truly yours,

"George Fred Williams."

Thus, Mr. Williams refuses to allow his record to be sullied by the "Socialist" (?) party—and I do not blame him.

Of course every one knows that the Republican and Democratic parties are corrupt—rotten to the core, but as bad as they are—the Multi-Nominal party are worse.

This letter of Mr. Williams is also a proof of how reliable (?) such irresponsible capitalistic papers are—they trade upon the reputation of men who have a large following.

Perhaps it would be well to suggest to Mr. Wayland that he mount his bronco, and take his lariat—and round-up Teddy, Mark Hanna, Civic Federation and all—as the members of that infamous body believe in "organized labor," especially when they are able to control it, as it ignores the class struggle. Besides Teddy is "a good union man, and almost a Socialist." By acting upon this suggestion the Kangs could secure harmony and unity between Mark and Teddy. They would also have a strong organization, and could fight the Socialist Labor Party to a greater advantage.

It is the object of the "Socialist party" now, as it ever has been to put the only working class party out of existence and this is the basis upon which they could unite.

Recently the paper referred to stated that "during the coal strike the miners of Pennsylvania were confined in barracks similar to the one that was established in Idaho"—but it did not advise its readers to read "The Story of the Bull Pen."

Why? They are afraid they might antagonize other parties—and to quote from one of their speakers during the late campaign, Harding (one of them) said: "We do not want to antagonize those who do not agree with us."

Need more be said?

Jeremiah Devine,

"North Abington, Mass. Dec. 29, 1902.

Tacoma's Special Edition of "Prosperity."

To the Editor of The Daily and Weekly People:—The following ad. in the Tacoma Evening News appeared lately.

"RUMMAGE SALE.

"The ladies of St. Peter's church will hold a rummage sale in the Longshoremen's Hall on Thursday next, etc., etc."

Having their curiosity excited thereby, two comrades of the Socialist Labor Party decided to investigate. They found heaps of women's clothing strewn on tables, second-hand dresses, hats, shoes, underwear, etc. There were also broken and cracked glassware, dishes, pots, pans, stoves, bits of carpet, "springless" wire mattresses, crippled "bedsteads," musty bed ticks, and other old junk, that a rag-picker wouldn't carry away. On another table were dilapidated toys, books and curios, which the children of the capitalist class, no doubt, had cast aside. The ladies explained that all this was for "the needy poor."

I am sorry to learn the much unexpected news about N. L. Grist, and I believe that much of it is founded upon imagination of people who have not personally known Grist. I have known him since 1898. The first time in Denver and I will say that at that time and after his trip in the East, he was no more of a faul than the very people who now brand him as such. I am willing to admit that Grist has made a fakir of himself by his late doings and deserves to be exposed but, while in the movement he was full of courage and enthusiasm, which he proved more than once during his active years here in Colorado and he kept the movement clean, which was also shown after the battle in 1890.

I believe we should expose all members like Grist who have gone back on their own principles but, in doing so, I believe we should confine our saying at least to the truth; don't you?

Neil Anderson, Gladstone, Col. Dec. 28, 1902.

It has been found that the power of the Railroad Commission to relieve the crush on car cars is unlimited. Commissions in general are only unlimited in their usefulness to the capitalist class.

A Joplin (Mo.) man objected to his minister's remarks and smote him therefore. He evidently was a church militant or should we, in these Rooseveltian days, call him a strenuous Christian?

The News announces a "Special Prosperity" edition of the paper at New Year's. Notwithstanding this the charitable institutions are assisting "the needy poor." Comment unnecessary.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—George Fred Williams, one of the most prominent of the radical wing of the Democrats in Massachusetts, has openly espoused the cause of the Socialist party, and will devote his time and ability to its upbuilding."—(Appeal to Reason, November 22, 1902, eighth page, fifth column).

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LETTER-BOX

Off-Hand Answers to Correspondents.

[No questions will be considered that come in anonymous letters. All letters must carry bona fide signature and address.]

N. S. BOSTON, MASS.—How can you blame the S. L. P. for not being "agreeable"? Would you have it be agreeable to men plotting to scuttle the Labor Movement?

J. A. H., FESTUS, MO.—You made a mistake not to pull up short after your fourth line. By filling six pages with your diatribe you have tickled our curiosity to know what unholy scheme of yours we have smashed.

J. N. SEATTLE, WASH.—1st. The advice of the S. L. P. to the disfranchised black workers in the South is to organize in the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, and rest on their arms ready to join their as yet not disfranchised Northern and Southern fellow wage slaves when the time comes. Rest next week.

L. G. U., WOONSOCKET, R. I.—Here are some illustrations of the point: Eaton of Tobin's union is a small farmer originally to the union as a business venture and, of course, ran it on the middle class plan. Arlington Smith of the New York Independent Shoe Workers is a small real estate holder, he labor-leader of his union on the small real estate holder plan. Penn of the Mine Workers' Union became a small operator himself, etc., etc. These are the pure and simple union starters. The unions either start as middle-class ventures, or they land within that sphere.

W. P. S., ALTOONA, PA.—Get a copy of Plutarch, and read the life of Pelopidas. If we can get someone to transcribe it, shall publish it in these columns.

J. H., NEW YORK.—Toe the chalk mark, man! Toe the chalk mark! Would you dare denounce the Cigarmakers' Local Committee of this city? You know it is a corrupt and useless body. Why dare you not speak up? You are muzzled by the union. The union dominates your party.

T. T. McD., WORCESTER, MASS.—What the Rev. McCarthy wants to make people believe is that a political party will do what his party did. drop its own name, and go out of its way to pick up one that will cause confusion against its own interests. The gentleman is simply at his old trade.

M. L. R., TORONTO, CAN.—Very curious to know how the Kangs and Kanglets looked at the Party's vote?

Every soul of them sat open-mouthed like roasted oysters, gaping in a row.

A. L., WATERBURY, CT.—The name of the corporation that owns and publishes the "Volkszeitung" and "Worker" is not Volkszeitung Association. The name is incorporated under is "Socialistic Publishing Association." Shall inquire on the other matter.

G. G., NEW YORK.—Granted without discussion. Funds are necessary to carry on agitation. For that very reason, funds that throttle agitation are worthless. The speaker who speaks, thanks to the funds granted by a labor Lieutenant of capital, is a muzzled speaker. His agitation is anti-agitation. No class has been more exposed to misgivings than the working class. With it sound reasoning is more essential than it was with any other revolutionary class. Don't mistake bait for food.

D. G. L., COLUMBUS, O.—That batch of expellees, announced in that N. E. C. report, does not mean "a new outbreak." It is but a portion of the dead cockroaches, killed off last September by Section New York. The section's broom moves slowly; then also there was the campaign. The broom you saw happened to be swept off on that day.

B. S., NEW YORK.—Did you read the recently published letter from an Idaho Socialist Democrat or "Socialist party" man? It should prepare you for what will happen. In many places where Socialist Labor Party literature was read, S. L. P. organizers had not yet penetrated. When the "Socialist" alias Social Democratic party organizer got there he organized the people in his party. These people will find out. They are bound to march with bag and baggage into the S. L. P.

T. L. A., NEW YORK.—You want a frank answer. You shall have it. We don't know of single leader in your New York Social Democratic party, who believes Socialism is possible, or has any faith in the working class. What they are after is pennies, and they are willing to exploit the discontent.

J. S., PORTLAND, ORE.—The trouble is you have overlooked the point of importance in Marx' Capital, the one point that he claims the right of the discoverer on. It is the use-value of labor-power. The use-value quality of a coat is to give warmth, of bread is to feed, of labor power is to produce more value than its exchange value comes to. So that after having paid the \$5 exchange value for a coat, you have enjoyed its warmth-giving use-value; after having paid the 5 cents exchange value for a loaf, you have enjoyed its food-giving use-value; and after having paid the \$1 exchange value for the labor-power of a workingman, the capitalist enjoys its \$2 surplus wealth-yielding use-value.

H. W. W., DENVER, COLO.—The strain on the Socialist Labor Party is severe; and yet nothing to what that strain will yet be. In that, and in the Party's powers of resistance and endurance, lies the test of its fitness.

"CRITIC," LOS ANGELES, CAL.—We hold your Trades Union policy to be false. At the same time we hold your wing of the so-called Socialist party alone is true to itself. It is dishonesty to praise the Austrian Social Democracy, which has placed itself upon the identical position that you have, and then turn and denounce your position—as those members of your party do, who oppose and vituperate your conduct.

R. B., PATERSON, N. J.—A good idea. But did you stop to reflect that, in order to carry out, this paper would need a larger staff, and that that means more funds?

R. C., BOSTON, MASS.—Don't throw up your arms in amazement. Whenever you see anyone suddenly double on the S. L. P., just seek to ascertain the material interests that are ruddering him. A diligent search is ever rewarded with the finding of the thing you are looking for. Above all be not a Socialist in one corner of your mouth, and a simpleton in the other. Don't talk

L. M. G., BUFFALO, N. Y.—It is not the People's province to interpret the constitution. Your letter is referred to the N. E. C.

W. W., EDINBURGH, SCOTLAND.—1st. Genuine Socialist municipalization means municipal ownership and control for the benefit of the working class, not for the

material interests, and then ignore them.

A. L. G., BOSTON, MASS.—No doubt many a small New England farmer loses his head and jumps overboard into the seething waters of city life before the ship of his small farm has become wholly unworthy. He may have kept it and himself afloat some time longer. But how comes it that he loses his head? It is because he sees all around him other farmers who hung on until they were capsized and got drowned.

W. W., SAULT STE. MARIE, ONT.—It is not common sense, but the reverse of common sense, to argue that, if the demand for labor is brisk, wages are bound to rise. You overlook an important factor in the problem, to wit, the number of the unemployed. If the army of enforced idleness is small enough to be wholly absorbed, and especially if the demand still continue to exceed the supply, then, of course, wages will rise. But that is not the case. The labor market is so overstocked that, even when demand brisk up, the supply remains greatly in excess. This being the condition, a brisk demand does not raise wages. What a brisk demand is to furnish wages to some of the former unemployed. Perhaps you call the earning of wages by one, who, as an unemployed, was earning none at all, a "rise." That would only be some more lack of common sense on your part.

5th. The taking over of "public utilities" by the capitalist government, is, for the above reasons, neither Reform nor Revolution. The step is evolutionary. It is the development of the capitalist principle untouched; it no wise promotes the principle; it might even check it (whence Reform is frequently mistaken for Revolution) without, however, denying, or doing positive violence to, the principle. The notion of "publicity," for instance, is a Reform on Trusts. Hence Reform can never be revolutionary, nor can Revolution ever be reformatory.

3d. The taking over of "public utilities" by the capitalist government, is, for the above reasons, neither Reform nor Revolution. The step is evolutionary. It is the development of the capitalist principle towards its highest expression—CONCENTRATION, concentration of economic powers, and the further concentration or unification of these with the political power.

4th. Only rumors, nothing definite has reached this office on the subject. We don't know how he stands.

5th. The S. T. & L. A. sanctly opposes female labor and its extension. Sanctly, in that it does not go into hysterics on the matter. It does not because it knows that at this stage of capitalist development all such reforms are like stitches in rotten cloth. They don't hold.

D. G. B., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—There is no such political designation as "Radical Socialist" in French politics. The term often occurs in American papers. It is a mistaken translation of "radicale Socialiste," which stands for the radicals with Socialist leanings—just the reverse of "radical Socialist." The correct English translation of the French term "radicale Socialiste" is "Socialist radical."

T. J. PHILADELPHIA, PA.—A little further along that line, and you will have worked yourself into a position that historic facts belie. This, for instance, happened in a Catholic country: A woman in the confessional was asked by the priest for her name. Prompt the answer came: "Father, my name is not a sin."

A. L. A. S., LINCOLN, NEB.—"Le Socialiste," 7 Rue Rodier, Paris, 4 francs for 6 months. It is the present central organ of the "Parti Socialiste de France," the name adopted by the consolidated anti-militarists of France.

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Every soul of them sat open-mouthed like roasted oysters, gaping in a row.

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OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry W. Corbin, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—W. S. Corbin, Secretary, 70 Colborne street, London, Ontario.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY—2-6 New Reade street. (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice.—For technical reasons, no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p.m.

NEW YORK STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

A regular meeting of the New York State Executive Committee was held in the Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, on December 22, 1902, at 6 p.m. Brauckman in the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were adopted as read.

Letters were received from Yonkers, Schenectady, Johnstown and Watertown on routine business.

A report was received from Comrade Carroll about his work in Brooklyn respecting subscriptions to *The Monthly and Weekly People*.

Sections and members who have campaign lists are urged to send them in at once.

The committee on pledges to liquidate the indebtedness on the Daily People plant reported that \$350.82 had been pledged up to that date, of which \$281.82 had been paid thus far. The list of pledges and payments follows:

Pledges

Previously acknowledged	\$554.82
H. Werdenberg	1.00
J. Newman	1.00
Ottie Bartel	5.00
Henry Baum	1.00
John Donohue	5.00
H. Hoffman	1.00
F. Rappa	1.00
34th A. D., N. Y. city	5.00
R. Thorne	1.00
Julius Wolff	1.00
Joseph Harlow	5.00
Mrs. L. Leroux	2.00
H. Muller	25
H. Dollinger	25
G. Thibault	5.00
A. Picquart	1.00
Paid.	\$380.82
Previously acknowledged	\$214.32
H. Baum	1.00
John Donohue	2.00
H. Hoffman	1.00
Fred Rappa	1.00
34th A. D., New York	5.00
Owen Canaller	2.00
P. Garryott	5.00
Peter Jacobson	2.00
32d and 33d A. D., New York	5.00
Sec. Monroe Co., New York	11.00
Gustav Dels	1.00
Richard Haas	1.00
Julius Wolff	1.00
J. H. Sweeney	5.00
Dr. R. S. Fones	25.00
Mrs. L. Leroux	2.00
Henry Muller	25
Henry Dollinger	25
George Thibault	5.00
F. Werdenberg	1.00
A. Picquart	1.00
Total:	\$291.82
Adjournment followed.	
Emil Mueller, Secretary.	

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA.

The regular meeting of the N. E. C. was held December 20; Comrade J. W. Pearce, chairman, and all members present.

The minutes of last meeting were adopted as read.

C. Announcements: From Du Vernet acknowledging receipt of check for \$50. From Comrade Connolly, statement of expenses the treasurer reported having paid his bill upon presentation; another letter was received from Connolly concerning an overcharge in the bill submitted. It was decided to write the national secretary of the S. L. P. of the United States, asking for an explanation in matters pertaining to this account. From Comrade Woodley of Toronto, re the success of the Connolly lecture and other matters. From Section Hamilton, giving itemized statement of the expenses of Comrades Readhouse and Lazarus to Brantford, Ont., July, 1902, showing a balance of 45 cents belonging to the N. E. C. still in their possession; also asking if vehicles, etc., used in the outdoor propaganda at the time of the arrest in Hamilton, would be paid for with the defense fund. The N. E. C. decided to reply to this communication that in view of the Hamilton case having cost \$100, and only \$86.38 having been raised on the defense fund, this fund is overdrawn \$22.62 and that the N. E. C. cannot pay the expenses of Section Hamilton's propaganda work and that Section Hamilton and all other sections must direct and finance their own work in the future; and further, that the N. E. C. would like Hamilton to explain their method of carrying on a section without due stamps. From Section Brantford, Ont., dues, etc. From Comrade C. L. Johnson of Slocan, B. C., re leaders and pamphlets, secretary instructed to reply.

Reports: The financial report showed receipts since last statement were \$3.50, expenses \$4.50.

The treasurer was instructed to prepare and submit a full report of the receipts and expenditures of the Hamilton Defense Fund.

It was decided to send to Sections Hamilton, London and Toronto their respective bills in connection with the Connolly tour, asking for immediate payment of same.

Comrade Pearce, having volunteered to supply the N. E. C. with the names of the members of the defunct Section St. Thomas, the secretary was instructed to write them, asking them to become members-at-large, or, if possible, to reorganize a section.

Philip Courtney, Recording Secretary.

London, Ont., Dec. 30, 1902.

DISTRICT ALLIANCE 10, S. T. & L. A.

Its last regular business meeting in the headquarters of Section Lynn, 26 Munro street, on Sunday, December 28. Delegates were present representing Mixed Shoewalkers' Alliance, L. A. 267, of Lynn; Mixed Alliance, L. A. 330, of Salem; Weavers' Alliance, L. A. 368, of Plymouth, and the Socialist Labor Party.

The following Locals were not represented: Machinists' Alliance, L. A. 185, of Boston; Weavers' Alliance, L. A. 373, of Lawrence, and Shoewalkers' Alliance, L. A. 387, of Marlboro.

Comrade Thomas Brennan, of L. A. 330, was elected chairman, and Comrade John W. Ryan, of L. A. 267, recording secretary pro tem.

The records of the previous meeting were approved as read.

Comrade Dan reported that the com-

mittee elected to devise ways and means of raising funds for D. A. 10 had not held a meeting yet.

Comrade Michael Tracy, delegate from D. A. 10 to the S. T. & L. A. Convention recently held in Hartford, Conn., reported the proceedings of the convention. The resolutions presented to the convention from D. A. 10, calling for the abolition of the S. T. & L. A. label and that none but wage workers can be members of the Alliance, had been carried.

Communication received from L. A. 368, of Plymouth, regarding conditions there and sending tickets for sale; accepted for file.

Bill of Comrade White for \$20 accepted and ordered paid.

Bill of Comrade Tracy accepted and ordered paid.

Financial report of Secretary-Treasurer Box accepted and ordered turned over to the auditing committee.

Bill of Comrade Frank B. Jordan for \$2.50 for expenses to and from Plymouth accepted and ordered paid.

Delegate from L. A. 368 reported that Comrade Powers of D. A. 17, of Providence, had addressed a large audience of weavers in Plymouth. L. A. 368 is getting new members and desire to be transferred from D. A. 10 to D. A. 17.

The organizer was instructed to communicate with the G. E. B. stating the request of L. A. 368 and asking that they be transferred to D. A. 17.

Comrade Gallagher, of the S. L. P. Entertainment Committee, was given the privilege of the floor. He stated that the Entertainment Committee desired D. A. 10 to elect a committee of three to act in conjunction with them to raise funds.

Voted, to lay the matter on the table until the next meeting.

Voted, that the election of officers be laid over until the next meeting.

John W. Ryan, Rec. Sec. pro tem.

SPECIAL CHRISTMAS BOX.

Up to Saturday, January 3, \$192.15 were received for this fund. We shall now consider it closed. Several comrades have written that they intend to devote one day's wages to the Party. If they do so we shall credit the amounts to The Daily People Special Fund. The following is the list in full:

Special Christmas Box.

C. Pollard, San Antonio, Texas \$ 5.00
C. F. W. city 3.00
Joseph Schaefer, city 5.00
Andrew Sater, city 2.50
Max Heyman, city 5.00
P. Wegener, city 75
N. Zolinsky, city 2.80
J. H. Jersey City 5.00
J. E. Brooklyn 2.00
H. W. Brooklyn 2.00
S. J. F. city 2.00
E. Moen's, city 2.00
H. J. Schade, Los Angeles, Cal. 2.00
Albert Johnson, city 10.00
Section Milwaukee, Wis. 25.00
Oliver Maury, Milwaukee, Wis. 1.00
T. Horn, Milwaukee, Wis. 50
Chas. Minkley, Milwaukee, Wis. 1.00
John Kelly, city 3.00
John Kelly, city 3.00
Pat Quinal, city 3.00
W. Garrity, Akron, Ohio 1.50
M. J. Quick, Saugus, Mass. 1.00
Walter Gilpin, Hoboken, N. J. 1.00
G. G. Anton, Philadelphia 4.00
C. G. Davidson, St. Paul, Minn. 5.00
G. Willrich, Buffalo 2.50
John Plamondon, city 1.00
Henry Gols, city 50
Adam Moren, city 1.00
L. Orange, city 6.75
J. Keenan, city 3.50
C. Bosse, city 3.00
Robert Downes, city 2.00
Eber Forbes, Yonkers 1.00
H. A. Schoeps, Union Hill, N. J. 1.00
28th A. D., city 5.00
J. Henry, Paton, Pa. 1.00
Morris Weis, Brinton, Pa. 1.00
August Clever, Braddock, Pa. 1.00
A. E. Norman, Los Angeles, Cal. 5.00
Jno. Sweeny, Weehawken, N. J. 1.00
L. Abelson, city 2.00
J. White, Salem, Mass. 1.00
A. Picquart, city 1.00
R. H. McHugh, St. Charles, Mo. 6.50
E. Romay, Paterson, N. J. 3.00
J. E. Alexander, Albany 1.00
Section London, Ont., Can. 10.00
Axel Gerdin, Sarnia, Ont. 1.00
J. Kaucher, Shawnee, Ohio 2.50
C. Christensen, Boston 2.00
John Lindgren, Brooklyn 1.50
John Donohue, city 2.00
Joseph Lutkenhaus, city 2.00
Sec. Worcester, Mass. (col.) 2.25
F. Metzger, Paducah, Ky. 2.50
A. Williams, Paducah, Ky. 1.00
John Lidberg, St. Paul, Minn. 1.50
Jos. Mueller, Denver, Col. 5.00
Sympathizer, St. Louis, Mo. 1.00
T. Sweeney, Louisville, Ky. 1.00
Jacob Schwank, Jersey City, N. J. 1.00
E. Singfeld, So. Norwalk, Ct. 1.00
Chas. Fink, Los Angeles, Cal. 1.00
D. Rudnick, Fullerton, Col. 1.00
Nels Anderson, Gladstone, Col. 3.00

\$ 192.15

DETROIT, MICHIGAN, LECTURES.

A course of lecture meetings arranged by Section Detroit, Mich., Socialist Labor Party, will be held at Mannebach's Hall, 273 Gratiot avenue, near Hastings street, upstairs, at 2.30 p.m. on the following Sundays:

Jan. 4th: The Class Struggle, by Melko Meyer.

Jan. 11th: The Socialist Labor Party: Its Aims and Objects, by Herman Richter.

Jan. 18th: Socialism and Capitalism, by Philip Engle.

Jan. 25th: Can Trades Unions Solve the Labor Problem, by George Hasseler.

Feb. 1st: Scientific Socialism, by John J. Kinealy, General Secretary.

LABOR NEWS DEPARTMENT

The Labor News Company is endeavoring to supply reasonable literature for propaganda purposes, and the Labor Library, published monthly, is the method employed. Late issues of that publication are: November, "Uncle Sam and the Militia," and December, "Union Wreckers." The January issue, now out, is timely, and is entitled "The Industrial Crisis." February number will be a reprint of Olive M. Johnson's article, published in *The Sunday People*, "The Historic Mission of the Working Class." The Labor Library will be sent for a year to 10 cents. Bundle orders: 1000, at \$1.25; 500, at 75 cents.

MINUTES OF ILLINOIS S. E. C.

Meeting called to order by Organizer Cox. Hearnich elected chairman. Members present, Goss, Hearnich, Jenning, Edie and Cox. Absent and excused, Surber, Francis and Venal.

March 14th or 15th: Commune Celebration; watch for further notice.

March 22d: Individualism and Socialism, by John F. Smith.

March 29th: New Trades Unionism vs. The A. F. of L., by Melko Meyer.

April 5th: Why Capitalism Should be Removed, by Philip Engle.

Admission free; everybody should attend.

MEMORANDUM

The newly elected General Executive Board of the S. T. & L. A. convened January 1, 1903, 12 o'clock M. Present comrades:—John J. Kinealy, general secretary; August Gilhaus, general treasurer; David Olsen, Wolf Okra, Samuel J. French and Otto Bartels. Absent and excused: John Plamondon.

Comrade William L. Brower, retiring general secretary, installed the members present.

The board then went into executive session. Comrade Olsen was elected chairman.

The books and property in possession of the retiring board were turned over by Comrade Brower to the new board.

Resolved, That a committee of two be appointed to audit the accounts and take an inventory of the property of the board. Committee: Olsen and Kinealy.

Communication from D. A. 10, in reference to the transfer of L. A. 368, from D. A. 10 to D. A. 17. Action: the transfer of L. A. 368 from D. A. 10 to D. A. 17 endorsed.

The call for a vote on the amend-

ments to the constitution with the amendments, pursuant to resolution of the convention; had been sent out by the retiring G. E. B. Copies of the call and amendments were then read. It was found that the notes and explanations on the amendment to article 3, Section 1, viz., "National Trade Alliances," and adopted by the convention, were not sent out. It was deemed advisable by the board that for an intelligent vote on this amendment the explanations should be sent out.

Action: Resolved, That the secretary be instructed to send out as soon as possible the explanatory notes.

Resolved, To meet the Second and Fourth Thursday evening of every month at 8 o'clock sharp.

No other important business being before the board, adjournment followed.

John J. Kinealy, General Secretary.

ADDRESS OF G. E. B. S. T. & L. A. TO THE MEMBERSHIP.

To the Members of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, Comrades, Greeting:

While it develops upon the members of the G. E. B. and the officers of your district and local Alliance to push with vigor the work of organization and agitation, yet let it be understood that the members are called upon to begin the work in this new year with renewed zeal and determination to unfold to the benighted members of the working class the principles and revolutionary spirit of "New Trades Unionism" (let us be up and at them).

You must hold meetings and debates and especially look after the all important work "the distribution of literature." Make your local assembly a school for the economic and political education of the working class, thereby strengthening your political ally, the Socialist Labor Party. Expose and uncover the traitors to the working class "The Labor Lieutenants of Capitalism" who not only lead the workers to be murdered and slaughtered in the bull pens as well as at Homestead, Hazelton, etc., but by keeping them ignorant of the principles of the class struggle make their most powerful weapon "The Ballot" a useless toy, a weapon turned against themselves.

Subscribers to the Workers' Republic who do not get the paper are requested to write direct to the Workers' Republic, No. 6 Lower Liffey street, Dublin, Ireland.

Comrades, we want, we must have, the active co-operation of each and every member in the S. T. & L. A. Use and develop your local speakers and, when necessary, call upon the G. E. B. to aid you. Hoping that when we turn over our offices to our successors in 1904, the dawn of success will appear much brighter than it may appear to us at present, we wish you all a happy and a successful New Year.